projects now in place function successfully, in large part, because they are small and directed by a small group of committed women with uncommon vision and dedication, not to mention courage.

Consider then that according to official statistics for June 1983, 28% of the 2,079,280 refugees living in 280 RTVs in the NWFP are women; in Baluchistan women account for 24% of the 698,709 registered refugees living in 60 camps. Designing programs for over 750,000 individuals is a heavy task under the best of circumstances, and here conditions are unusually difficult. In addition, the needs of the children with these women must be factored into any scheme benefiting women. Children under 12 comprise 48% of the NWFP refugee population, and 55% of that in Baluchistan; or close to 1.3 million individuals. Women and children, therefore, comprise about 75% of the total registered refugee population, estimated in August 1983 at about 2.7 million. There are, therefore, over 2 million women and children in the RTVs; and their number increases daily.

The overly protective attitudes concerning women, including the institution of <u>purdah</u>, the seclusion of women from all males outside their immediate families, make planning for full participation of large groups of women most challenging. In village Afghanistan, women are space-oriented inside the walled compounds in which there are usually several mud-brick buildings and storage huts, cooking areas, gardens, etc. Visits

between women in neighboring compounds are easy and frequent. The lack of privacy and mobility inherent in the RTVs are major changes in life-style causing psycho-cultural problems among the women.

Changing patterns in RTV housing have eased the initial need to closely circumscribe women's activities in order to preserve modesty in the tent-camp situations. The mud-brick housing now being constructed in most RTVs provides privacy, and, typically, individual residences belonging to kin groups cluster together. Many of these houses are surrounded by high mud walls. This allows for much more freedom of movement within the home area than was ever possible in the original camps comprised solely of tents.

However, because settlement patterns in many of the RTVs juxtapose non-related groups from diverse geographic areas within congested areas, constraints on women are far more rigidly applied than they ever were in the villages of Afghanistan. Therefore, even the limited programs now operating have to contend with male disapproval of movement beyond prescribed perimeters.

Implementation of programs involving large groups of women will, therefore, require the support of large groups of men. All signals indicate that this support will generally be forthcoming, as long as programs are initiated gradually and inconspicuously. As one program gains acceptance, others may be added. For instance, women interested in

income-generation also need to learn about hygiene and child care; women seeking health care may also be induced to participate in income-generating activities in order to afford the extras for better nutrition and enhanced family living. Several health teams are already teaching basic health in some schools.

It is these types of comprehensive, integrated programs which offer hope for more meaningful assistance among women in the RTVs. To succeed, it is obvious that the projects must be designed within the cultural patterns transplanted from rural Afghanistan to the RTVs.[6]

URBAN REFUGEE WOMEN

There are several thousand Afghan women who do not qualify for even these admittedly tenuous hopes and plans for the future. The official, still operative, 1981 regulations governing Afghan refugees in Pakistan state that: "Afghan nationals registering themselves as Refugees in the NWFP, Baluchistan, and Northern Areas only are entitled to relief assistance." Since then, because of over-saturation in the NWFP, RTVs have been established on the western border of the Punjab. Those who choose not to take up residence in officially recognized RTVs, however, may not apply for assistance. The families who have made this choice are usually urban, educated, middle or upper class elites.

The future of young women from these families living outside the RTVs is cruelly bleak. Taught to take a

high-school education foregranted and to look forward to a wide variety of career opportunities, these young women now face the ire of ultra-conservative religious vigilantes who seek to curtail all activities for women away from the home, particularly in mixed situations. Riding around in motor-cycle rickshaws, hurling insults at women so bold as to shop by themselves, slipping poison-pen billet-doux under doors informing heads of households that their wives and daughters were seen whoring in the streets, and creating violent havoc at places where Afghan women professionals work in refugee-related programs, these self-appointed protectors of female honor have paralyzed many urban refugee families. Indeed, the fear and terror they have instilled permeates the entire refugee population.

As a result, urban girls brought up to believe it was their <u>duty</u> to contribute to society, in all its multi-faceted aspects, find that they are now not only denied the facilities to complete their education, but they are also deprived of any opportunities to participate in activities outside the home. In addition, because of the precarious financial straits most of these families find themselves in, and the uncertainties of the future, these urban families are less anxious to enter into marriage contracts. Girls of marriage-able age are, therefore, often doubly penalized.

An unique educational institution for refugee girls out-side the RTVs was independently established by one young lady

from the village of Surkh Rud in the vicinity of Jalalabad, where she had attended courses in teacher training. The Nazreen Primary School for Girls is a remarkable example of what can be done with individual commitment, dedication and courage. Begun with an enrollment of 15, its student body numbered 130 during the 1982-83 school year. The curriculum includes a hefty dose of patriotic songs about the exploits of the mujahideen (freedom fighters) which are sung with fervor and great gusto. These young pupils are certainly being imbued with a passionate belief in that important traditional role for women: to inspire and support their menfolk in acts of courage and bravery in the defense of honor and nation.

Much of the school's success can be attributed to its neighborhood orientation since parents who know each other more often tend to trust one another. Inter-Aid, the Pakistani VOLAG, assists in funding, but the original intent to expand it to include secondary classes was modified because families with teenage girls feared harassment from the religious conservatives.

There are, of course, notable and remarkable women who refuse to be cowed. Significantly, there are also fathers who, for the sake of their daughters' futures, endure periodic insults casting aspertions not only on the honor of their immediate families, but on their entire tribe as well. When fathers and daughters stand together, the bond of determination is hard to defeat. In these families, the males are

usually educated professionals of influential tribal leaders. It is interesting to note that out of the 107 UNHCR college scholarships awarded for the 1983-84 school year, 31 were awarded to women; 7 in the field of medicine.

Most potential female contributors to Afghanistan's future, however, sit at home; an urgent challenge for assistance planners.

OF SPECIAL CONCERN

WIDOWS

Hardly a single family in Afghanistan has been spared the loss of one, or more often, many, members. Afghanistan's culture and its turbulent history has condemned generation upon generation of women to early widowhood. Never in its history, however, have the losses approached the magnitude of the current crisis.

The tragedy of widowhood is compounded for many women by simultaneous multiple losses: husbands, sons, grandsons, brothers, fathers, and other male in-laws can be eliminated in one fatal action. This happens because fathers and sons frequently go out to fight together, and kinsmen banded together often perish in the bombardment of villages and guerrilla hideouts. Some widows are forced to flee from inside Afghanistan when sons, aged 13 and 14, upon whom they are

dependent, are rounded up and impressed into the DRA army, never to be seen again.

In this manner, a single household can be suddenly deprived of three generations of male providers, burdening survivors with untold economic and mental hardship. For the most part widows bear their sorrow with courage and dignity. Although they admit to heartache and anxiety over the future, especially for their children, abject depression is rare. Occasional tears are a necessary release. But most of the widows can console themselves with the knowledge that their husbands fell honorably, fighting the jihad (holy war), and are now respectfully enrolled among the shahidan (martyrs) who have defended the homeland through the centuries. Afghan widows can stand proud in the aura of the respect traditionally accorded each and every shaheed.

The Pushtun have created a singular poetic form known as the landey which is anonymously devised, usually by women[7], in order to comment on social conditions. These couplets encourage heroism, even if it means the sacrifice of a lover:[8]

May you be blackened by gunpowder and dyed in blood;
But may you not return whole and in disgrace from the battlefield.

My beloved returned unsuccessfully from battle;
I regret the kiss I gave him last night.

It is well that you are wounded in battle, my love!
Now I shall walk proudly.

My lover sacrificed himself for the homeland;
I sew his shroud with hair from my locks.

There are also tens of thousands of women whose husbands have disappeared in the dungeons of Afghanistan's prisons and KHAD (Afghan KGB) detention/torture chambers who are subjected to additional psychological pressures and emotional trauma. "Am I a widow?," one woman asked. "It would be such a relief to know for sure." Most of these women realize that the chances of ever seeing their husbands again are infinitesimal. However, stories of miraculous appearances after years of silence, after funeral rites have been performed, and after remarriage has taken place, keep emotions in constant turmoil.

<u>Islamic and Afghan Cultural Responses</u>

The dictates of Islam and Afghan cultural practices provide for the protection and overall well-being of widows and orphans. Nuclear and extended families have always been the most important socio-economic institutions in Afghan society. No central government has ever had the capability to provide services guaranteed by recognized family obligations, such as welfare and the care and protection of the very young, the very old, the handicapped and widows.

The current crisis has, therefore, strengthened the role of the family. Rarely do widows live alone; although a few do. Often these women have several children, typically ranging in ages from 16 years to a few months. Widows with grown sons commonly live with them. Generally speaking, therefore, widows with children are assured of respected care within the family context.

Recently wed girls with infant children are subject to one Afghan custom prevalent among the conservative Pushtun, who constitute the major ethnic group in the refugee community in Pakistan.[9] Even though the Quran expressly states that widows should be free to determine their futures[10], and explicitly forbids forced remarriage with in-laws[11], the leverite was practiced among the Pushtun before the 1978 coup.[12] The vulnerability of young widows in the unfamiliar refugee milieu has enhanced the practice.

The leverite, a pre-Islamic custom in which a widow is married, with or without her consent, to a member of her deceased husband's family, preferably a brother, even though he may be years younger, serves to consolidate wealth and family solidarity. These qualities, important under normal circumstances inside Afghanistan, are even more crucial in stabilizing family identification, political alignment and economic viability during the refugee crisis. Also, not to be discounted, is the matter of honor. No Pushtun male with even a modicum of self-respect can readily countenance the departure of a female member of the family in the company of a stranger. Besides, according to Afgan civil law and Islamic codes, children must remain in the home of their father. Surely, it can not be honorable for a mother to leave her children. Such attitudes bind widows to the households of their deceased husbands, even when there is no intention of insisting upon the leverite.

The strengthening of family cohesiveness has provided succour for Afgan refugee women in general,and widows in particular. In pre-coup Afghanistan Afghan feminists often complained of "family sickness"[13], i.e., overly authoritarian male domination of such life-crises decisions as education, employment options, and, particularly, the selection of marriage mates. Today most Afghan women refugees in Pakistan would be sorely pressed to maintain any sort of dignified existence without the support provided by traditional Afghan family values.

As in all social interactions, there are aberrances. Hostile relationships between wives and mothers-in-law, brothers-in-law, or co-wives, which might have been merely regrettable,or simply reflections of competition for attention, status enhancement, or incompatability under normal circumstances can now threaten a widow's existence. In the refugee situation, when there is a lack of communication between a widow and her male family members, or tension with her female relations, a crisis for survival arises.

At the moment there is no organization to which a widow may turn to redress discriminatory practices. Lone women can not approach RTV administrators who are all male. This renders them completely dependent upon male family members to collect, and, more importantly, equitably distribute the rations rightly due them. Widows complain, probably justifiably, that

SOCIOCULTURAL CONCERNS AFFECTING ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FOR WOMEN AMONG THE AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN

Nancy Hatch Dupree

Temporary address
until 25 March 1984:
Woodrow Wilson School
Princeton, N.J. 08544
Tel: 609-924-7362

Permanent address:
R.R. 1, Box 172
Collaberg Road
Stony Point
New York 10980
Tel: 914-786-2320

Unpublished mss,

a considerable portion of their rations are siphoned off prior to delivery. Because of this they often find it difficult to provide adequate nutrition for their children.

In response to such complaints the GOP (Government of Pakistan; Commissionerate for Afghan Refugees/NWFP) established a special camp for widows and orphans on the eastern edge of the Nasir Bagh RTV, on the outskirts of Peshawar. Much controversy covered its initial days. The Pakistani authorities insist that the approximately 400 women moved to this camp had asked to be separated from male and/or female kin who were mistreating them. Many of the widows, however, vehemently refute this and complain of being the victims of unscrupulous RTV headmen (Afghan) and administrators (Pakistanis). When the camp was first established about two years ago the widows expressed genuine fear and apprehension over being segregated and left alone without near-by family for support.

It is difficult to gain sustained access to this group, and therefore difficult to obtain indepth information regarding the realites of the situation. The aura of panic is less palatable today. The women and their children look well, and they are far more aggressive and vocal than any group of women elsewhere among the refugee population. What accounts for their relative satisfaction? Can it be attributed to the passage of time, resignation, or stoicism? Might it stem from a shrewd appreciation of the economic advantages accrued from their privileged status? No go-betweens siphon off rations,

and, donations of cloth, clothing, food and other items too limited for general distribution are most often diverted to the widows' camp. In return, is this vulnerable group being exploited? Interestingly, the VIP helicopter pad at Peshawar is located next to the tents occupied by the widows. Widows and orphans can be counted upon to pull at the heart strings of prospective donors.

No matter. These women are especially deserving of attention from those who seek to curb the consequences of dependency on what all parties insist is "temporary" assistance. Months, perhaps years, of segregation from their extended families will certainly erode the delicate network of traditional rights and obligations which normally would govern the future of these women. They certainly should be offered opportunities to become self-reliant, no matter what the future holds.

January 1984

NOTES

1. For a short history of the women's movement in Afghanistan, and a discussion of DRA actions concerning women, see N.H. Dupree, Revolutionary Rhetoric and Afghan Women, Occasional Paper #23, The Asia Society, N.Y., 1981 [Chapter in Revolutions and Rebellions in Afghanistan, 1978-82 M. Nazif Shahrani and R. Canfield eds.), Institute of International Studies, University of California/Berkley, in press]; "Behind the Veil in Afghanistan," Asia, vol.1, no. 2, 1978, pgs. 10-15; L. Dupree, "The Burqa Comes Off," American Universities Field Staff Reports, vol. III, no.2, 1959.

2. Personal communication; also reported in the Pakistan Times, 13 June 1980, p.1.

3. Inger W. Boesen, Toward the Self Reliance of Afghan Refugees?, Danish Refugee Council, P.O. Box 53, DK-1002, Copenhagen K, August 1983, p. 47.

4. ibid, pgs. 62-67.

5. Tradition and dynamism among Afghan Refugees, ILO/UNHCR, Geneva, 1983, pgs. 115-128.

6. L. Dupree, Afghanistan, Princeton University Press, 1980; L. and N.H. Dupree, Afghan Women, Wheelock Educational Resources, P.O. Box 451, Hanover, N.H., 03755, 1976 [Essay to accompany film entitled Afghan Women: Aq Kupruk, Northern Afghanistan, L. and N.H. Dupree Cultural Advisors.]

7. The Pushtun poet, Saaduddin Shpoon, estimates that about 80% of landey were created by women; all anonymously. See his "Paxto Folklore and the Landey," in Afghanistan (Kabul), vol. xx, no. 4, Winter 1346(1968), pgs. 40-50.

8. Selections from Lundaye (Anonymous Pushto Couplets), selected and translated into Persian by A.R. Benawa; English translations by Ibrahim Sheriffe, Kabul, 1337(1958).

9. For a discussion on everyday life of Pushtun women in eastern Afghanistan, see Inger W. Boesen, "Women, Honour and Love," Afghanistan Journal (Graz, Austria), vol. 7, no. 2, 1980, pgs. 50-59.

10. Sura 2, verse 234, for instance:
"Such as you as die and leave behind them wives, they shall wait, keeping themselves apart, four months and ten days. And when they reach the term then there is no sin for you in aught that they may do with themselves in decency. Allah is informed of what you do." Translation by M.M.Pickthal, The Meaning of the Glorious Koran, A Mentor Book, N.Y., 1954, pg. 54.

11. Sura 4, verse 19:
"O! ye who believe! It is not lawful for you forcibly to inherit women of your deceased kinsmen, nor that ye should put constraint upon them that ye may take away a part of that which ye have given them, unless they be guilty of flagrant lewdness. But consort with them in

kindness, for if ye hate them it may happen that ye hate a thing wherein Allah hath placed much good." Translation by M.M.Pickthal, ibid, p. 81.

12. Boesen, op. cit. [1983], p. 50.

13. Erika Knabe, "Women in the Social Stratification of Afghanistan," in Commoners, Climbers and Notables [C.A.O. von Nieuwenhuijze, ed.], E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1977, pgs. 329-343.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to express her gratitude to the Ford Foundation (Grant No. 835-0118) and the Universities Field Staff International for their support of the project which made this article possible.

Summary

The trickle of refugees entering Pakistan after the April 1978 leftist <u>coup d'etat</u> in Afghanistan increased to tidal wave proportions after the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan on Christmas Eve 1979. Today, approximately three million refugees reside in Pakistan, and seventy-five percent are women and children. The refugee situation initially strengthened overly-protective conservative attitudes toward women and discouraged refugee assistance planners from formulating programs to meet the specific needs of women. As their stay lengthens, with hopes for an early return to the homeland dim, attempts are being made to capitalize on the unique opportunity mass gatherings of refugee women present for imparting health maintenance, education, and income-generating skills. In addition to combating psychosomatic traumas induced by the refugee experience, such instruction will enable women to be more self-reliant and self-respecting, no matter what the future holds for them. Negative attitudes regarding female participation in assistance programs, persist, but the commitment to deal with the special needs of women within the Afghan sociocultural milieu has been made.

SOCIOCULTURAL CONCERNS AFFECTING ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FOR WOMEN AMONG THE AFGHAN REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN

For hundreds of thousands among the approximately three million Afghan refugees residing in Pakistan, 1984 began a fifth year of exile. Since the Soviet invaders give no indication of retiring, leaving the refugees little hope for an early return to their homeland, it is heartening to note a growing willingness on the part of refugee assistance planners to consider specific projects for women. Previously, the prevailing attitude averred that as long as the women were safe,and reasonably healthy, they should better be left alone. "Why burden already over-burdened women?"

Honor

The legendary ferocity with which Afghan males protect their women, symbols of honor in each household, within each tribe, and by extension, for the entire Afghan nation, deterred the staunchest administrators. In addition, the Soviet-puppet DRA's (Democratic Republic of Afghanistan; established in April 1978) attempts to force women to attend literacy-cum-political meetings and participate publicly in pro-government congratulatory street-demonstrations and rallies, intensified male resistance to outside interference in matters affecting women.

Legal statutes enacted by previous Afghan governments guaranteed women equality with men, but insisted upon voluntary acceptance of changes for women. In other words, what a girl could or could not do depended upon the attitudes of her family, particularly its male members. On the other hand, DRA rhetoric, decrees and actions infringed on family prerogatives to determine the conduct of female members. Many families fled their homeland precisely because they found DRA encroachments on family decision-making intolerable.[1] "We have nothing left," said one father, "but still we Afghans know how to protect the honor of our women."[2], i.e., the honor of the tribe and the nation.

Education

In the early days of refugee migration, programs for women were anathama; even the mere mention of them could incur threats of bodily harm. Such sentiments seem to have cooled. In 1980 there were no schools for girls in the RTVs (Refugee Tented Villages) scattered throughout the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan Province. In 1982, however, 3,430 girls appeared on the rolls, rising in 1983 to a reported enrollment of 4,670 attending primary Classes I through V. The majority of these schools for girls are in RTVs in the vicinity of Peshawar, capital city of the NWFP.

The increase in enrollment is admittedly pitiful when compared with the more than 75,000 boys officially registered in RTV primary schools. But pre-coup (April 1978) education facilities for girls in rural Afghanistan were always dismal,

and RTV populations are predominately from the rural areas. Refugee authorities estimate that 2% of the total school-age girls in the RTVs attended classes during the 1982-83 school year, and they expect yearly increases. Only 1% of school-age girls, they say, were enrolled in pre-DRA Afghanistan, and these lived mostly in urban centers. Using statistics for comparison is risky because no reliable census was ever taken in Afghanistan and no consistant system records trends among the refugees today. Also, mere statistics do not indicate the positive attitudes which were emerging throughout Afghanistan, even in the more conservative rural areas.[3] These progressive developments were, of course, swamped by negativism following the 1978 coup.

Today, negative reactions to education for girls persist in many RTVs. Also, certain cultural patterns which hindered education development in pre-coup rural Afghanistan continue to affect the girls. For instance, in 1983, 2,980 girls living in RTVs in the NWFP were enrolled in Class I, but only 5 girls were reported to be attending Class V. Puberty, it appears, still signals the end of schooling for Afghan girls.

<u>Crafts</u>

Tentative steps have been taken in sectors other than education. An Afghan headman in one RTV suggested a handicrafts project for women. Inter-Aid, a Pakistani volunteer agency (VOLAG), responded and initiated a project under the direction of two Afghan ladies from Afghanistan's capital, Kabul; in

August 1983, 110 women were contributing their talents. A similar 7-week experimental pilot project set up in Baghicha RTV (Mardan District, northeast of Peshawar) under the auspices of the Danish Relief Committee, received positive support from male relatives of the participants.[4] Designed for 20 women, this program ultimately included 51 enthusiastic women of all ages. An embroidery project in Surkhab RTv, Baluchistan, backed by UNHCR (United Nations Commissioner for Afghan Refugees) produces lakhs of rupees of beautiful goods each month (1 lakh + Rs. 100,000/-; August 1983 1 US$ = Rs. 13/-). Men occasionally complain about their womenfolk leaving their houses to participate in this project, but the obvious economic benefits keep most complaints muted.

<u>Health</u> Health programs naturally recognized the uniqueness of women, but new trends emphasize primary health education. There is now a clinic in almost every one of the 350 RTVs located in the NWFP, Baluchistan, Northern Territories and Punjab. Recently, however, there has been serious rethinking concerning the role these facilities should play. Lack of mobility, coupled with other factors such as curtailed meaningful daily work activities for women, has given rise to the "chronic healthy patient," which has been described as a major medical problem in the RTVs. This malady also infects males, but it is most discernable among females because males may roam wherever they please, far from the RTVs, to bazaars and other centers of work and entertainment. Cultural patterns

deny women this freedom of movement. For many women, a visit to the clinic is about the only acceptable outing providing a little socializing and gossip with women outside the family to ease the acute boredom of life in the RTVs.

As a result, it has been estimated that a good 30% of the patients are chronic healthy patients complaining only of such vague maladies as "aches" and "weakness." Certainly in many cases these undefined aches and pains are caused by psychosomatic traumas which only extended contact can identify. But even a few moments of concerned attention from the doctor is soothing to women living in all too close contact with members of their extended families under conditions which exacerbate status struggles, petty frictions and personality clashes. Loneliness, apprehension, and a sense of ill-being are intensified by worries about menfolk fighting inside Afghanistan, or relatives living inside where they are in constant danger from aerial bombardment and/or search-and-destroy missions. When asked to name their most trying troubles, a majority of women list anxiety far above all other problems. A yearning to again "breathe the sweet air of my homeland" comes a close second.

Although doctors express some surprise at the relatively few patients needing medication for hypertension, depression and related psychological disorders, they do occur, especially among women. A little special attention and acquisition of medication others may not have, can lighten spirits and

heighten a woman's sense of being and self-respect. So, the chronic healthy patient can have legitimate reasons for her visits. The harassed professionals in charge of the RTV medical teams, however, become understandably irritated with the hoards of healthy patients who steal them away from adequately examining and ministering to the seriously ill. The medical staff further worries about the dangerous consequences of the rapidly developing tendency of the refugee population to acquire a dependency on medical drugs. A decided cut-back was noted during the past year, but VOLAG personnel who refuse to dispense placebo drugs are regularly subjected to vociferous verbal abuse, mainly from the women. The passion with which insults are unleashed indicates the degree to which this dependence already infects the refugee communities.

To offset these negative developments, assistance personnel now search for positive programs which will capitalize on the unique opportunity these mass gatherings present for the initiation of formal and non-formal education programs. Primary Heath Care is the major objective of a growing number of VOLAGs, and particular emphasis is being placed on the organization of MCH (Mother Child Health) clinics.

These should prove to be extremely beneficial, because many marriages take place in the RTVs, and motherhood continues to be a cherished role for women. The birth rate in the RTVs is very high because both men and women express an intense psychological need to replace the fallen heroes of the

battlefield. Teaching improved health and nutrition practices will benefit both present and coming generations, and strengthen Afghanistan when, and if, the refugees return. Expansion of formal and non-formal programs will also stem the spread of another demoralizing dependency syndrome which threatens to engulf the entire refugee community. A people long lauded for their self-reliance now find themselves forced to depend on hand-outs in order to survive. Such dependency is insidious, and, because it can so easily become an attitudinal habit, it jeopardizes the very essense of Afghan culture.

Future Plans

To counter this, two income-generating projects have been launched. A 20 million US$ World Bank project is labor-intensive and therefore exlusively for men. Part of the 11 million US$ ILO (International Labour Organization) project, however, addresses the need to provide services to enable women to fulfill their basic needs by identifying natural leaders, providing training in such fields as literacy, crafts, kitchen gardening, poultry, sericulture, and health maintenance, and devising ways to motivate women to take advantage of new opportunities.[5]

Certainly women in the RTVs deserve to be offered richer opportunities to develop their talents and thereby gain a sense of personal accomplishment and self-esteem. It is well, therefore, that this has been recognized. Implementation, however, will demand a great deal of imaginative thinking. The